

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH KAUNDA ON THE RHODESIA QUESTION

1. I MET WITH KAUNDA AT HIS REQUEST FOR ABOUT 45 MINUTES ON FRIDAY NIGHT TO BRIEF HIM ON THE OWEN/YOUNG TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA. PRESS ADVISER PANABANTU WAS THE ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT. I STARTED BY CONGRATULATING THE PRESIDENT ON HIS ACHIEVEMENT IN BUILDING PARTY UNITY THROUGH THE RETURN OF SIMON KAPWEPWE TO UNIP, ANNOUNCED EARLIER IN THE DAY. KAUNDA ACKNOWLEDGED MY REMARK WITH EVIDENT PLEASURE.

2. KAUNDA LISTENED WITHOUT INTERRUPTING ME AS I RECOUNTED IN SOME DETAIL THE CONVERSATION WITH VORSTER AND SMITH AND OUR REPRESENTATIONS TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE

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ON THE DANGERS OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. I EXPLAINED THAT VORSTER HAD TOLD US HE WOULD NOT IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR SETTLEMENT ON SMITH BUT THAT HE WOULD HOLD SMITH TO ANY AGREEMENT HE DECIDED TO MAKE. I SAID THAT VORSTER AND BOTHA HAD EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT AND DESCRIBED THEIR CONCERN OVER THE LAW AND ORDER AGREEMENT WHICH WE HAD EXPLAINED TO THEM. I ADDED

MY PERSONAL VIEW THAT WHILE VORSTER WOULD NOT TELL SMITH HOW TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM, HE WOULD ENCOURAGE SMITH TO MOVE ON WITH THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS. I DESCRIBED OUR MEETING WITH SMITH IN TERMS OF HIS CONCERN WITH SPECIFIC PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION AND COMPLAINT THAT HE WAS BEING ASKED TO GIVE UP POWER BEFORE THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION HAD BEEN AGREED UPON IN A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. I SAID WE WOULD CONTINUE TALKING TO THE RHODESIANS ABOUT THE TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH THE PROPOSAL DESCRIBED AS STILL NEGOTIABLE BUT THAT WE WOULD AGREE TO NO CHANGES WITHOUT CONSULTING THE NATIONALISTS.

3. I MOVED ON THE PERIOD SINCE WE LEFT, DESCRIBING MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE'S REJECTION OF THE INTERNAL OPTION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING MOMENTUM OF OUR PROPOSAL IN ORDER TO KEEP FROM TURNING TO AN INTERNAL AGREEMENT. I DISCUSSED THE AIMS OF OUR PRESENTATION THE WEEK AFTER NEXT TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL; THE IMPORTANCE OF AFRICAN SUPPORT THE WAY THIS STEP FIT INTO THE PROCESS WHICH WOULD RESULT IN SMITH'S DEPARTURE; AND THE DETERMINATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS TO PROCEED WITH THE INITIATIVE.

4. KAUNDA THANKED ME AND SAID HE HAD ONLY TWO POINTS HE WANTED TO MAKE IN RESPONSE. HE SPENT ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME ON THE FIRST OF THE POINTS. HE SAID HE HAD DEVELOPED

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GREAT FAITH IN PRESIDENT CARTER. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE DEATH OF KENNEDY THAT HE HAD REALLY BELIEVED THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. PRESIDENT CARTER'S NEW MORAL APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HAD INSPIRED HIM AND LED HIM TO EXPECT GREAT THINGS OF THE U.S. HE WAS PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO PUT HIS FAITH IN US, BUT HE WARNED ME THAT IF WE SHOULD FAIL AND LET HIM DOWN, HIS SHOCK AND DISAPPOINTMENT WOULD BE PROFOUND.

5. THE SECOND POINT HE MADE WAS A BRIEF REFERENCE TO THE WELL-KNOWN POSITION THAT SHOULD THE INITIATIVE FAIL, HE WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO GIVE HIS FULL SUPPORT TO RESOLVING THE SITUATION BY THE ARMED STRUGGLE. HE WANTED A FAIR SOLUTION, BUT HE WAS A MAN OF PRINCIPLE WHO COULD MAKE NO COMPROMISE WITH INJUSTICE, AND HE NOTED AGAIN THAT HE HAD NO ROMANTIC IDEAS ABOUT A SETTLEMENT BY ARMED FORCE.

6. SINCE THE CURFEW HOUR HAD PASSED, THE PRESIDENT LAUGHINGLY TOLD ME TO GET BACK TO THE HOUSE AND HE ARRANGED FOR A POLICE CAR TO ESCORT ME. THIS GAVE ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN OVER THE

POSSIBILITY OF AN ATTACK FROM RHODESIA. I INFORMED HIM
THAT AT THAT VERY MOMENT DICK MOOSE WAS TAKING THE MATTER UP
WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

7. COMMENT: IT HAD BEEN A LONG DAY AND KAUNDA, THOUGH IN
A GOOD HUMOR, WAS TIRED. AS USUAL HE AVOIDED GETTING
INTO A DISCUSSION OF DETAIL AND I AM NOT SURE HOW MUCH
OF MY PRESENTATION HE REALLY TOOK IN. HE HAD
MADE UP HIS MIND WHAT HE WAS GOING TO SAY TO ME BEFORE
I ARRIVED. NEVERTHELESS, I BELIEVE HIS STATEMENT OF FAITH
IN PRESIDENT CARTER WAS A SINCERE ONE, AND THAT IT INDICATED
THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH US, HAVING PUT
US ON NOTICE THAT HE WOULD HOLD US RESPONSIBLE FOR A
SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS DOES NOT
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RULE OUT NEGATIVE AND CRITICAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY HIM
AND SUCH SPOKESMEN AS FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE, NOR THAT
THEIR REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UN WILL ASK A HIGH PRICE
FROM US FOR THEIR SUPPORT. FROM OTHER COMMENTS I HAVE
THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY MAY TRY TO TIE THE STRENGTHENING
OF SANCTIONS TO THEIR AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT THE SECURITY
COUNCIL AUTHORIZATION OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT
A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

8. WHILE I BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO WARN THE SOUTH
AFRICANS AND RHODESIANS AGAINST ANY KIND OF INCURSIONS
INTO ZAMBIA. I AM ALSO CONCERNED OVER REPORTS THAT THE
ZAMBIANS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN DIRECT
MILITARY SUPPORT OF ZAPU ELEMENTS INFILTRATING INTO RHODESIA
BY PROVIDING ARTILLERY COVERFIRE. I BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE
USEFUL TO MENTION TO CHONA IN WASHINGTON OUR CONCERN OVER
REPORTS OF DIRECT ZAMBIAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT AND THE
PROVOCATION THAT CAUSES.

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